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Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by A1 while explaining his genealogy (c.p. 40, fn. 1).

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of [124] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

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had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (kakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajdotiene). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [125] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusque manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

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[32] mules. During the height of the dry season in July his mules died of starvation, for during this period horses and mules must be given at least a pint of maize a day to keep them alive. Just before I left, the miner was willing to sell his emaciated oxen and equipment and leave. The best able to withstand the hardships are the missionaries who come as permanent settlers with adequate stores, put up their buildings, and plant small fields of manioc on the bottom lands.

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000 A brief description of the approximately 400-mile truck journey from Cuiabá to Utiarity will provide the reader with an impression of this part of Mato Grosso. As no regular freight or passenger service exists north of Cuiabá it is necessary either to hire a truck or to wait until someone else plans a trip and to join the party. With gasoline costing one dollar (US\$1) a gallon, trips of this length are beyond the means of merely inquisitive travelers, and even to anthropologists with expense accounts, charges of this nature may lead to embarrassing questions. Hearing that two American missionaries were negotiating a trip to Utiarity we joined them by paying a part of the expense.

Thus one afternoon Kaoro Onaga and I climbed on top of one of the two overloaded trucks and headed northwest. The trucks were owned by a Cuiabano nicknamed João Tapuya owing to his Indian ancestry. Being an owner of two trucks, he belonged to that class of people who believe it undignified to work with their hands. Each truck, therefore, had a driver and each driver had an assistant and two loaders; thus, besides the owner, there were 8 men to operate two trucks. Among the passengers, besides myself and my student, there were the two American missionaries, Rev. Lawrence W. Buckman and Rev. Robert Meader, Buckman's wife and 3-year-old son, two other women with children-in-arms, and some half dozen men headed for various points on the way. It was up to each person to find his place on the load and to make himself as comfortable as possible among the boxes, sacks, and sheets of corrugated iron, which, with each jolt on the rutted dirt road, shifted position.

That evening we arrived in Rosario some 90 miles north of Cuiabá. On entering the town we

000 old Parese Indian village site on the west bank of the Papagaio. It is a division point in the telegraph line, and besides the telegraph operator there is a section boss and a number of Parese Indian linemen. As the Nambicuara take whatever wire they feel they need, the linemen are kept busy repairing the line. There are 12 houses in the settlement proper with the buildings of the Protestant Mission forming one end of the town and the buildings of the Jesuit Mission forming the other.

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The line boss, who is also the mayor of the town, gave Kaoro and me a two-room mud-and-wattle house as our quarters. Our meals we took with the two American missionary families. The Catholic Mission was under the charge of Father Roberto, a Frenchman, and Father Joao, an Austrian. In addition, there were three sisters in charge of a school. The priests had developed extensive fields of manioc and rice, irrigating the fields by diverting water from the river. They had also set up an electric-light plant, using water as a source of power. There are tremendous possibilities for power development, for Utiarity Falls, situated some half a mile distant, has a drop of about 240 feet. Unfortunately this power resource is located in a practically uninhabited, semiarid region.

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The Rev. L. W. Buckman, who has been in the area since 1941, kindly consented to prepare a pack train, using the mission oxen and mules, to go in search of the nearest band of Nambicuara. On the third day after our arrival when our preparations were well along, however, a band of Nambicuara came to Utiarity. In fact they were able to get a ride on Joao Tapuya's trucks as he was returning from Burity, the end of the truck road. This was Julio's band of some 18 people known by the Nambicuara as the Wakilitiu. Their purpose was to bring one of their men who had running syphilis sores to the Jesuit Mission for treatment. This changed our plans, for we now had one of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands in camp, which would give us plenty to do for the limited period of our visit. Also during the first week, Father Joao returned from the Iranxe village, bringing five men, and offered to assist us in gathering whatever information we could get from them. This we found to be very difficult, as the Iranxe spoke no Portuguese and the mis-

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648 Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

797 Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuara) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

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797 The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To the east and south are the remnants of the Pareci, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Pareci language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

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222 Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting
224 agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

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648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

747 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Waklitian band are considered Christians. When Marciano died a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilizados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

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184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Nambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Nambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

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126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Nambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[116] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and [117] Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[122] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Nambikwara had been honest.

[117] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè [162] sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the